

## Message Text

SECRET

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ORIGIN SS-30

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 CCO-00 NSCE-00 DODE-00 CIAE-00

INRE-00 NSAE-00 USSS-00 /031 R

DRAFTED BY EUR:WSTABLER:GMD

APPROVED BY THE SECRETARY

NEA:ALATHERTON, JR.

S/S TRPICKERING

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY MADRID NIACI IMMEDIATE

INFO USNMR SHAPE

CINCEUR IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 205807

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: MARR, PFOR, SP, XF

SUBJ: USE OF SPANISH BASES IN MIDDLE EAST CONFLICT

REF: MADRID 5933

1. FYI. USG HAS NO PRESENT PLANS FOR USE SPANISH BASES  
IN CONNECTION WITH MIDDLE EAST OTHER THAN AERIAL REFUELING  
FROM TORREJON OR POSSIBLE LEGITIMATE EMERGENCY LANDING  
BOTH OF WHICH WE REGARD AS NORMAL OPERATIONAL PRACTICES.  
HOWEVER, WE DO NOT WISH TO FORECLOSE IN ADVANCE POSSI-  
BILITY THAT WE MAY REQUEST SOME ADDITIONAL USE AND THERE-  
FORE WE ARE NOT IN A POSITION TO PROVIDE A "STATEMENT OF  
ASSURANCE". END FYI.

2. AFTER HAVING TRANSMITTED LETTER REGARDING TANKERS  
AND F-4S (PARA 9 OF REFTEL) YOU SHOULD SEE LOPEZ RODO  
AND SPEAK TO HIM ALONG FOLLOWING LINES:

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(A) USG HAS TAKEN NOTE OF CONSIDERATIONS SET FORTH

BY LOPEZ RODO AND THE PRESIDENT WILL, OF COURSE, BE  
RESPONDING TO GENERAL FRANCO.

(B) GOS MUST UNDERSTAND REASONS FOR THE COURSE WE  
ARE FOLLOWING. WHILE WE WERE ENGAGED IN AN INTENSIVE  
DIPLOMATIC EFFORT TO BRING AN END TO HOSTILITIES,  
SOVIETS TOOK INITIATIVES IN LAUNCHING MASSIVE AIRLIFT

OF ARMS TO SYRIA, EGYPT AND IRAQ. AS OF OCTOBER 16  
NUMBER OF FLIGHTS AMOUNTED TO SOME 400 CARRYING OVER  
5,000 TONS OF MATERIEL. THIS MASSIVE INTERVENTION  
BY THE SOVIETS HAS OBLIGED US TO BEGIN A RESUPPLY EFFORT  
FOR ISRAEL. WE DO NOT INTEND TO ALLOW SOVIE UNION  
TO DETERMINE THE OUTCOME OF PRESENT SITUATION. WE  
INTEND TO MAINTAIN MILITARY BALANCE IN THE MIDDLE EAST  
AND WILL NOT REMAIN PASSIVE IN THE FACE OF THIS SOVIET  
ADVENTURISM.

(C) WE VIEW RE-  
SUPPLY EFFORT AS NECESSARY IF US TO REMAIN IN POSITION  
TO USE US INFLUENCE TO WORK FOR A JUST AND LASTING  
SETTLEMENT IN MIDDLE EAST ONCE HOSTILITIES END.

(D) WE CONSIDER THAT WHAT WE ARE DOING TO MAINTAIN  
BALANCE IN THE MIDDLE EAST IS NOT IN OUR INTERESTS ALONE  
BUT IN THE INTERESTS OF ALL OUR FRIENDS AND PARTICULARLY  
THOSE, LIKE SPAIN, THAT ARE DIRECTLY INVOLVED IN THE  
MEDITERRANEAN AREA. WE BELIEVE THAT SPAIN SHOULD CON-  
SIDER WITH THE UTMOST GRAVITY WHAT CONSEQUENCES WOULD BE  
FOR HER SHOULD SOVIETS SUCCEED IN THEIR PRESENT ADVENTURE.  
WE ARE CONVINCED THAT IF OUR EFFORTS ARE SUCCESSFUL THE  
ARABS WILL RECOGNIZE THAT THEY MUST DEAL WITH THE US IN  
ACHIEVING A SETTLEMENT. GOS MAY BE SURE THAT AN END  
TO THE FIGHTING WILL OPEN THE WAY FOR ANOTHER ATTEMPT  
TO OBTAIN A LASTING PEACE.

(E) WE HAVE NO SPECIFIC REQUEST TO MAKE OF THE GOS  
AT THIS TIME. WHAT WE PRESENTLY SEEK IS SUPPORT AND  
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UNDERSTANDING FOR WHAT WE ARE ENDEAVORING TO DO AND A  
RECOGNITION BY THE GOS THAT A TOTALLY INWARD LOOKING  
ATTITUDE ON THEIR PART IS NOT A USEFUL CONTRIBUTION AT  
BEST IN THE MIDDLE EAST. POSITIONS AND ATTITUDES  
WHICH GOS MAY TAKE AT THIS TIME CANNOT HELP BUT HAVE  
AN EFFECT ON OUR FUTURE RELATIONS. WHILE WE DO INDEED  
HOPE FOR AN UNDERSTANDING ATTITUDE OF GOS, THERE MUST  
BE NO DOUBT THAT WE HAVE EVERY INTENTION OF PURSUING

OUR PRESENT COURSE.

3. WITH REGARD TO PROPOSAL FOR "EXTRAORDINARY AND URGENT MEETING" OF JOINT COMMITTEE, YOU SHOULD TELL LOPEZ RODO THAT IN LIGHT OF FULL STATEMENT OF USG POSITION YOU HAVE JUST MADE AND LETTER WHICH YOU HAVE SENT HIM, USG PERCEIVES NO NEED FOR SUCH A MEETING. IF HE INSISTS HOWEVER YOU MAY AGREE TO SUCH MEETING BUT YOU SHOULD PLACE HIM ON NOTICE THAT YOU HAVE NOTHING

TO ADD TO THE STATEMENT YOU HAVE JUST MADE.

4. FYI. WE FULLY RECOGNIZE THE DIFFICULT SITUATION ABOVE INSTRUCTIONS PLACE YOU IN BUT SERIOUSNESS OF MIDDLE EAST SITUATION AND OBJECTIVE OF OUR RESUPPLY EFFORT REQUIRE THAT ALL POSSIBLE OPTIONS REMAIN OPEN TO BRING OUR EFFORTS TO SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION. WE THEREFORE MUST TAKE THE RISK OF PROVOKING GOS IRE WHILE AT SAME TIME FORCING GOS TO DECIDE HOW FAR IT WISHES TO GO IN FRUSTRATING OUR EFFORTS, THUS ADVERSELY AFFECTING US-SPANISH RELATIONS.

5. WE ARE PREPARING A DRAFT PRESIDENTIAL REPLY WHICH MAY EMBODY SOME OF THE GENERAL POINTS CONTAINED  
PARA 2. KISSINGER

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